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July 20, 1956. she may be, desires another war; it it disruptive to their parochial world. for "no war."

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#### IIMA 1945

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The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,050 August 10, 1956

4d. (U.S. Alr Express)

the homes of Britain

BY selling Peace News from door-to-door

readers are building up the circulation of the paper and making new contacts for the

in BANGOR (North Wales) Graham Carey

a student, is selling on two days a week during six weeks of his vacation. On his first day out

he sold 50 copies in 3½ hours, making a sale at

made for a mass door-to-door campaign for

Saturday, October 15. More than 20 people

will take part and it is hoped additional sup-

porters will come into the area from other parts of London. Plans for the day are:

Commence selling;

2.30 p.m. Gather at Friends Meeting House,

5.45 p.m. Return to a central point for col-

The local group (already selling nearly 100

copies weekly) will undertake responsibility for

In HULL a number of ministers have agreed

to distribute the paper to interested church people. Members of the City Council have be-come regular readers and the Literature Secre-

tary of the Hull City Labour Party and the Trades Council has ordered copies for sale at

Readers! War news comes into the homes

Send an order to 3 Blackstock Road, N.4, now

for a dozen copies (2s, 9d. post free) and start bringing Peace News to the homes of Britain.

There are friendly people walting for the paper behind many a door-knocker and door-bell.

RON KEATING, Sales Organiser.

of Britain by radio and TV. Let Peace News

come in through the front door,

following up in the weeks after the sales drive.

Leytonstone, for briefing and allocation of streets. Sales to be re-corded on election registers;

fection of sales records, tea, get-

together and general inquest.

peace movement.

one out of every two houses.

Union group in Stretford.

3 p.m.

meetings.

In simultaneous appeals to President Eisenhower and Soviet Chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, has Tuesday.

called upon the United States and the USSR to abandon tests of H-bombs and Taking PEACE NEWS to other nuclear weapons.

The appeals, both dated August 1, were sent m anticipation of the eleventh anniversary of the Albaham on August 6.

1945 Declared of Hiroshima on August 6.

1945 Declared of Hiroshima on the President called upon the US Government to an-in the Pacific or anywhere else outside the continental United States.

Dt. Lawrence stated that "if nuclear caponis fests are to be held at all—a policy which we deplore, as we deplore war—then the simplest standards of humanity and within our own boundaries." Pacific II-tests, aid Deployment of the property o aid D. Lawrence, constitute "a very grave, possibly an almost fatal, political mistake," leading millions "to believe that America holds America holds Asian lives very cheap.

The fests, he said, cause Communism "to diractive to these peoples in contrast to Christianity which we profess.

In his cable to Bulganin, Dr. Lawrence he lemptation to stage tests" ontside its borders because there are "vast uninhabited inside the USSR. This, however, caninhabe regarded as "proof of virtue or of a desire for peace,"

#### KENYA PRISON CAMPS Colonial Office replies to Eileen Fletcher

Colonial Office has made available to Members of Parliament its memorandum allegations made in Peace News by Fileen ther on conditions in prisons and detencamps in Kenya.

Most of the charges are examined in the brandum in some detail. The official anclusion is that the examination "shows that number were based on lack of knowledge and other." and others on misconception."

Eleen Fletcher will be replying to the benerandum and a further article will appear peace News shortly.

Following a call by the Manchester sardian on August 2 for a Parliamentary station to Kenya, Commander T. Fox-Pitt the Anti Slavery Society and Freda Lasking urged that whether or not there is a sadiamentary delegation, there ought to be a said inputer also to deal with those questions. inquiry also to deal with those questequiring qualified judicial examination.

#### KEIR HARDIE CENTENARY

VETERAN trade unionists, suffragettes and tembers of Parliament are among those have recorded their recollections of James Hardie for a feature to be broadcast on selections of the best found service on Wednesday, August was the brating the centenary of the birth of the broadcast on the birth of the broadcast on th ch founded the Labour Party.

though many who pay tribute to him were higherly opposed to his ideals, the picture of the emerges of him as a personality is one generous admiration according to Broadgenerous admiration according to Broading News.

Keir Hardie was born into poverty on gust 16, 1856, at the Lanarkshire hamlet of Brannock, which no longer exists. His worked in the fields and did em-

on contract in the evenings. a lad of ten, Hardie was often the family winner, undergoing experiences which tick his career in trade unionism and he. He died in 1915,

ark Programme is compiled by Jameson

enert week Peace News will observe the hecial of the birth of Keir Hardie with the contributions from Fenner Brockway, and Emrys Hughes, MP.

Prime at a banquet in his honour by the Prime Minister of Ireland, Mr. J. A. Ostello, recently, Prime Minister Nehru expressed India's pleasure at Ireland's admission to the United Nations. He was confito the United Nations. He was confi-Ireland would throw her weight in favour of peace.

# PEACE SAY NO WARDWERSUET

## Britain and Egypt both provocative-MP's

THE British Government's reaction to the Suez crisis has been dubbed "high handed and provocative," by a large number of Members of Parliament.

The National Peace Council and many other individuals have expressed their opposition to military action by Britain and France, and a growing volume of protest against warlike policies is appear-Premier Bulganin, Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., National ing in the Press. A protest meeting is to be held in London on

As Peace News went to press the signatures of Members of Parliament were still being added to the following statement, drafted on the initiative of Fenner Brockway and Sidney Silverman and supported by a number of pacifist MPs;

"While not condoning the high handed behaviour and provocative language of Col. Nasser, or minimising the vital importance of free passage of shipping through the Suez Canal we are disturbed lest it should be thought that high handed behaviour and provocative action on the part of the British Government commands universal support.

#### THE ONLY ISSUE

In MANCHESTER young war resisters have undertaken door-to-door selling on one evening "Great Britain, France and the United States have invited 24 Nations to attend a Coneach week. First week's sales were 16 copies, the second 24. One member sold six copies at nine houses. As a result they hope to build up a regular round and to form a Peace Pledge ference on August to next to consider questions concerning the Suez Canal following upon the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company. In LEYTONSTONE (London) plans are being

> "The nationalisation of the Sucz Canal Company concerns Egypt alone. The only issue which is of international importance is the continued uninterrupted passage of the Suez Canal in accordance with the 1888 Convention.

to is understood that the inviting Powers will present to the International Conference a plan for the internationalisation of the Canal No one doubts that if such a plan were agreed and accepted by all the Powers concerned that would be a satisfactory solution. But Great Britain and France have made it clear by action as well as by speech that with or without the consent of all interested Powers they are prepared to put their plan or some modification of it into operation, by force.

"Unless recalled Parliament will not be sitting when the Conference meets. There has been no meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party or the National Executive to consider this matter which may be fraught with the gravest consequences for this country and for the peace of the world.

Without seeking to arrogate to ourselves any right to formulate Party policy we wish to declare quite thinly for ourselves, in the belief that our view would be shared by the over-

### ARRESTED—ON TV

shelming majority of all sections of the Labour Movement, that

1. "International control of all international waterways including Suez would be an important contribution to world peace,

2. "To attempt to carry out such internationalisation of the Suez Canal by force, against the resistance of the Egyptian Government and people, would be an act of aggres-sion under the United Nations Charter.

3 "Such action would inflame the Arab nations against us, would have the gravest epercussions in Asia and Africa, and might well be fatal to the peace of the world,

4. " In any circumstances to which the Charter of the United Nations applies we are not prepared to support this or any British Government in the use of force not sanctioned by the Security Council in accordance with the Charter.

A statement issued by the National Peace Council welcomes the decision of the British,

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## SUEZ -COMMENTARY

By Roy Sherwood—

THE Sucz Canal crisis puts those who work for peace in front of the kind of immediate problem that always crops up in the form of questions by interested enquirers: What would the pacifist do, with force ruled out by his own choice. that does not amount to plain surrender, irrespective of right or wrong?

The question itself is not altogether fair. The principles for which pacifism stands are forward-looking preventive, not surgical.

They are not a miracle cure for ills brought on by power politics.

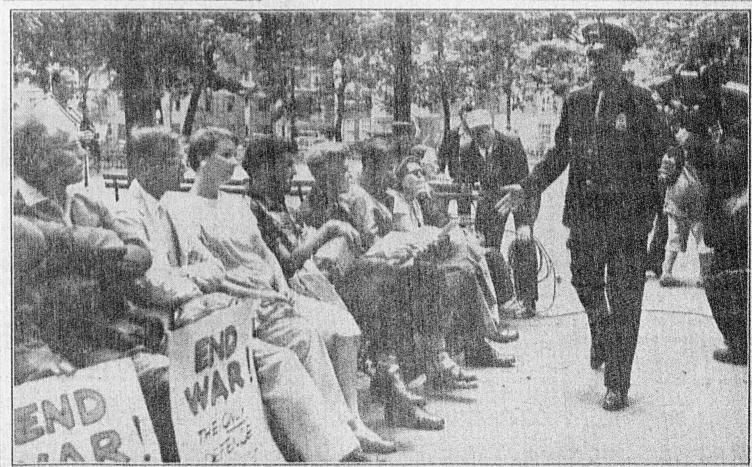
If the Versailles Treaty had not been a power-enforcement document, Hitler would have had little chance of inflaming the Germans into following him;

6 If people long held in subjugation by European powers had been granted indepen-dence and economic justice when they began to show their discontent with colonialism, there would not now be the double danger of an Arab front against Europe and of an Eastern front against the whole West;

If America and Britain had not enraged President Nasser by their sudden withdrawal of support for the Aswan Dam, he would not have felt that, to hold his own position, he had to hit back;

lf France were not visibly exhausting herself by holding out against the Algerians' determination to be free, and if Britain were fully secure in a base held on better terms than Cyprus, he would hardly have risked his overnight Canal nationalisation; and if

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New York pacifist demonstrators against the US Civil Defence drill on July 20 are seen in Washington Square shortly before being arrested, as reported in PN last week.

Dorothy Day is seen at far right of the scated group being interviewed for a television broadcast

Photo: The New York Times

TME British Government will not after all face the next election having brought conscription to an end, and from the debate on National Service last week it is evident that, whatever the Labour Party may put before the electors on that subject, there is no firm intention on their part to get rid of conscription.

The motion moved by Mr. G. A. Brown, on behalf of the Labour Party, called for the preparation of a four-year plan for the ending of National Service and its submission to the Council of NATO, the decision on the matter to be taken only after the matter had been discussed on

When Mr. Shinwell spoke in the debate he made the proposition sound a good deal more tentative even than this. Let the plan be produced, he said, and then it can be debated. "I do not say . . . that we can abolish the call-up in 1958, because we do not know,'

He felt that Britain should look for more military assistance from the Commonwealth countries, and that money could be saved for the financing of a more highly-paid voluntary army by leaving the production of the more expensive weapons to America.

THE analysis made by Mr. I. MacLeod for the Government made it very evident that without compulsory military service it would be impossible to pursue the kind of foreign policy upon which the Government and the Labour "Opposition" are agreed.

He had been anticipated in a similar analysis a week before by Colonel Wigg from the Labour benches. He had also demonstrated that without conscription the men that were needed for the implementation of the bi-partisan foreign policy would not be there.

There had twice been improvements in payments and conditions, and still there would not be a sufficiency of men in the armed services if they were not forced in.

While there was full employment and it was possible to obtain good wages in industry, men were not disposed to enlist for military service.

The only practicable method of implementing the common policy was

to bring lads into the forces under compulsion.

WHAT is never discussed in these debates is the question why, given a situation in which they can find a tolerable alternative, men are not ready to give voluntarily the service to their country that their elected representatives hold to be necessary.

The question surely arises whether, if men are not ready to serve the policies for which they are needed, they can in any real sense be held to be in favour of those policies.

They are not able to express themselves on the matter at elections because they are never offered an alternative, and the fact that they return Conservative and Labour representatives on the basis of the policy that these are jointly pursuing clearly does not mean that they feel any vital enthusiasm for that policy when they see it working out in detail.

\* THEY do not feel inspired to sacrifice and effort when they are called upon to suppress Cypriot aspirations to national independence despite the fact that they are told that independence for Cyprus is not compatible with security for British oil supplies.

They are not moved to entistment by the idea that they may at some time be called upon to take similar action at Aden. Then, too, despite the uniform indignation they find in their newspapers at the action of Colonel Nasser in regard to the Suez, they are not burning to enrol to engage in the killing of Egyptians.

The fact is that, however their superficial emotions may run in regard to the endeavour to maintain the myth that in present-day conditions Britain can remain a "Great Power", men are not prepared to devote their lives to the bolstering up of that myth.

What is called for today is not a four-year plan to solve the impossible problem of getting rid of conscription while maintaining in its essentials the present British foreign policy.

IT is a fundamental re-examination of the assumptions upon

which that policy is based that is necessary. We believe that such a re-examination would lead inevitably to the We betteve that such a re-examination would lead mevitably to the conclusion that the right way for Britain's lifty million people to make their contribution in world affairs is through the medium of the United Nations; that they should abandon their futile, tragic and destructive efforts to keep intact their "Great Power" outposts and strongpoints in sortious parts of the world; and that they should no longer stuffig their true possibilities for influence and for good in the world by their entanglement in NATO and other such power bloc combinations.

. the Editor's Notebook

Manchester youth

youth action group under the able leadership of Harold Guite and John Verney.

"For some months now," Roy "There are so many things we she enjoy the Edinburgh Music Festi-Wolstenholme of 19 Long Hay, Hale, should not see or hear about if it val and the gaiety of Salzburg and Cheshire, tells me, "we have all been were not for Housmans. There is no Vienna to the full. deeply disturbed concerning what has scenied the genteel and inert attitude of the Fellowship in Manchester and so, in ourselves, we demand a new faith to grasp the many opportunities for witness and service that confront young people.

Our programme will include active work for the aged, underprivileged children, prison visiting, etc.

We hope to hold an area con-

ference in January next year."
What Manchester does today

But why call on Peace News?

SIX hundred people contributed the Triennial Conference held in Bir-udugham last month.

A Herkeley, California, member of fapanese birth was suspect.

Others who helped were church groups who had heard Erna speak made a call at Peace News office and thousmans bookshop top priority lad dollars towards the fare.

Money was added by some friends

prised at this. "Do you know any-touring Europe after the Congress, one at Peace News," they asked others undertook to keep up the hire-Manchester youth

OIJNG members of the Manchester Fellowship of Reconciliant on have banded together to form a country action proper wider the able on the standard many other American proper with the standard many other American proper after the Congress, one at Peace News," they asked others undertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, one at Peace News," they asked others undertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the Congress, other sundertook to keep up the hire-distribution to the standard proper after the congress of the standard proper can peace-workers.

> Explaining all this to me as she sat in my office, she continued:

organisation in the USA that brings together the literature of so many Isabel Atkinson neace organisations.

work being done by the voluntary workers at the American Peace News

money to pay the fare to Europe of Erna Harris, 48-year-old delegate membered with gratitude the way in to the Women's International League which this energetic, smiling little Negress defended them during World Triangial Conference held in Bir-War II, when every American citizen of Japanese birth was suspect.

Money was added by some friends Her hosts in England were sur- so that she could spend a few weeks in such short supply.



Mr. Francis Noel-Baker is to visit the islands during the Parliamentary recess, clearly in the hope of being able to make contact with Archbishop Makarios. Although the Government is not willing to permit this we hope that nevertheless he or other MPs will be able to make some enquiries on the spot.

that is also in question.

There is incongruity in the circumstance that the Government is refusing official investigation here in a matter in which it is clearly concerned, while insisting upon undertaking one in Nigeria, where the full implementation of Nigerian self-gov-ernment requires that the Nigerians should deal with the matter at issue in their own way.

What is revealed in regard to the whole succession of British Govern-that, although party lines cross on ments—Conservative and Labour—this matter, the debates are still than the troubles indicated in the bedevilled by the game of politics. complaints about the Chief Justice. Mr. Fletcher remarked that most of after generation has passed, and still most of the people cannot read and write. In the Seychelles, and in the other colonial territories where no real attempt has been made to end illiteracy it is impossible to claim that there has been any sincere effort to prepare the people for self-govern-

#### The battle of the rope

over. In accordance with its ing. tradition the House of Lords refused a second reading to Mr, Silverman's private member's Bill which would have removed the death penalty for murder from our laws.

The Bill was passed by the Commons after a Government proposal for a compromise modification of the law of murder had been defeated.

The Government had undertaken to respect the free vote of the House and did so to the extent of allowing time, and free votes, for every stage of the Bill but at each point the Home Secretary spoke against the measure and now the Government is frankly refusing to stand up against he Lords on this issue,

The Lords in their embattled might were not so reactionary as they were in 1948 when they refused to accept from the House of Commons a clause in the Criminal Justice Bill which would have suspended the use of the

On that occasion 25 of them sup-

A tour of Europe, beyond her wildest dreams a year ago, is now a well-deserved reality for this lively little lady from the Far West,

She was enthusiastic about the NORTHAMPTON pacifists have lost a very wise and active worker by the death of Isabel Atkin-

£2,000 to fuel, service and put one homber in the air for a four-hour long training flight.

PERSPECTIVE The hope that there will be an had later to be corrected) the Bishops policy the Government would have enquiry of some kind about were divided and the Archbishop of given these events an important place.

Parliament by Mr. E. G. M. Fletcher, only one Bishop voted against, and been raised by Mr. Gaitskeit to Parliament is apparently pre-ludges were no longer even reported Opposition, when the Foreign Section of Control of Parliament is apparently pre-ludges were no longer even reported Opposition, Section 1. be unanimous, and the Arch-

### The Seychelles Hanging Disarmament Security

seem likely now once again to try to figures. Or does it know already that the US government wants to does the use of the US government wants to does the use of the US government wants to does the use of the US government wants to does the use of the US government wants to does the use of the use

#### Hanging in air

f this is proposed to the Commons with a free vote it will probably basic conditions in the Seychelles is be thrown out in favour of abolition, in fact a greater indictment of a but the tragedy of the situation is

whips to get their compromise and which had reason to assume had been silence the beauty of The British have been in possession have faced much criticism in their find the spokesmen of the US begin of the islands since 1810. Generation own party for daring to maintain ning to hedge, it is useful to recall after generation has passed, and still their convictions thereafter the terms of the US begin to hedge, it is useful to recall their convictions thereafter the terms of the Dark Hamiltonian their convictions thereafter the terms of the terms of

(The party unity has to be maintained somehow; the Conservative Party ladies howled down a courageous woman MP who not only voted for abolition but went to the Party Conference to say why.)

Anyhow the Government now promises a statement of its intention before the end of the session. In the meantime we hope that reprieves will continue, for the longer this goes on the more difficult will it be to TIME battle of the rope is not yet justify a return to a policy of hang-

#### History maintained

INCIDENTALLY the Hansard report of the House of Lords debate on the Bill has one line of significance. The debate lasted two days but this line appears on the opening page of the second day's

It says, simply, "Several Peers took the oath." This means that a number of Peers had not been to the House since the last general election (at least) after which every Peer has to take the oath again in his first attendance at the House,

These rulers of our land who are spoken of as the true voice of public opinion had not been concerned to attend the House for debates on foreign policy, home affairs, nuclear power and the numerous problems of the day; but they rolled up to vote on the death penalty.

history for always having opposed advances in the penal field.

In the last century they opposed every move to get rid of the death penalty for even the most trivial offences, they opposed the abolition of the pillory, they opposed the first

efforts to introduce probation.

In this century they opposed the establishment of an appeal court, they opposed the removal of flogging and the abolition of the death who was the control of the court.

## Proposal for

TN the Foreign Policy debate in the Commons last week two points were particularly noteworthy: the careful omission of an announcement that might have been expected on the subject of the careful mission of an announcement that might have been expected on the subject of the careful mission of an announcement that might have been expected on the subject of the careful mission of the carefu office in Cambridge, Massachusetts, some 3,000 miles from her home in the Far West. Their distribution of the Air Express edition now meant that she obtained her Peace News that she obtained her Peace News and the town "a place of loving influence, where many found continuing strength in their struggle for peace."

| Moth much has been heard a pronouncement on the subject of the reduction of the subject of the reduction of the subject of the reduction of armed forces; and a pronouncement that seems to suggest that the Government has now changed its view on the question of H-bomb tests.

| There has been acceptance by Russia since the last debate on after their appointment. It is unpleasantly fronteal that were there should be indications that the force of the reduction of the subject of the reduction of armed forces; and a pronouncement in the subject of the reduction of armed forces; and a pronouncement that seems to suggest that the Government in such matters the cases they were reported as of the reduction of the subject of the reduction of armed forces; and a pronouncement that seems to suggest that the Government in such matters that seems to suggest that the Government in such matters the cases they were reported as of the free has been acceptance by after their appointment.

view on the question of H-bomb tests, the cases they were reported as a since the last debate on foreign policy of proposals for an agreed reduction of forces that were sponsored by the British Government, the rejection of these proposals by the US Government, the submission of new proposals by the USA which will place the number of Russian men under arms at a million more special to the cases they were reported as a first the cases they were reported by the cases they were reported by the cases they were reported by a first the cases they were reported by a first the cases they were reported by a first the cases they were reported by the cases they were reported by a first the cases they were reported by a first the cases they were reported by a first the cases they were reported by a single handled in the first year of single handled in the fir

Instead of this there was no reference to the matter by the Prime Minister, and the question having been raised by Mr. Gaitskell for the Opposition, when the Poleign retary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, came to Governor, Sir William Addis, in the bishop, though voting for the second reply what he had to say was that it also be folded off by the distriction of affairs interim plan from the pursuit of the ultimate objective of a comprehensive disarmament agreement,

"If you want to prevent a future war you have to create on the soil of all significant States some form of international supervision and control of armaments.'

This attitude seems to contain the sinister suggestion that the Govern ment does not want to commit its reading, again called for compromise. even on this modified proposal now As Lord Goddard also said the law that Russia has accepted it until it is the known whether the US Government

#### Russell Johnson's call for plan

IN view of the obvious discomfor that has been caused in pulical and business circles in the USA by the repeated according to the puesia of the repeated acceptance by Russia The Government may put on the maximum figures for armed there given American endorsement, only in their convictions through the lobbies, that Russell Johnson, of the can Friends Service Committee (Quakers), made proposals before the US Senate Sub-Committee on Carmament last April for the establish armament last April for the commission ment of a "non-partisan commission to undertake immediately a national plan for the reallocation of American economics 15° and between the control of the reallocation of the control between the control of the control economic life when disarmament comes a reality."

Before the Committee he When peace seares can cause slump in the stockmarket it is eviden that the American people are prepared to accept the economic con sequences of disarmament.

"It is my hope that the establish ment of the commission to make national plan for the peaced operation of the economic economic would prepare us as we are in way prepared now to accept disaff ament cheerfully and work for wholeheartedly.

measures," he remarked, "to covince the uncommitted nations well as our allies, who are increasingly ingly restive about the predominant military nature of our alliances them, that we really are prepared use our great industrial machine peace-time production and for assistance to other tance to other peoples along lines, the Communist charge of sincerity as to our disarmand efforts will carry weight."

### The Lang case

IN the course of the proceed that occasion 25 of them supabolition, the Judges were on the second day of the debate, in debut this time to vote: they did not even have the distribution of the process reported to be unanimous (but this time to vote: they did not even have courtesy to come on the first day wrote to say that he had received and hear the debate.

Thus do the Lords maintain their This expression of appreciation

This expression of appreciation the manner in which his case rebeen dealt with—although it had a sulted in his dismissal—was not accepted but was given publicity that

It was not until afterwards from Mr. Lang discovered that important parts of the information upon the Court of the information upon the Court of the information upon the court of the cour the Government representation the ICI were made had been from him He was not merely not to kno

who was his accuser that is mon form in McCarthyite practice but the facade of candour and in partiality that had been presented him concealed a discourage inter-

NOT much has been heard of the Three Advisers who

Next time you spot a thin vapour streak marring a patch of blue sky you can remind yourself that it repared to agree to, and then the acceptance of these modified proposes is such short supply.

The under arms at a million more associated.

We greatly welcome therefore the acceptance of these modified proposes is by Russia.

One would have thought that in of the Committee which is apparent.

Pris Peac

WE her Day in hono known who their refusal forces of the

With an a prisoned war movement, il Council, at

passed the abo December priate date f posting of C clousness tha ike-minded were, on this

Prisoners. Arlo Tatum Secretary of t

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ernment would have ts an important place. this there was no matter by the Prime the question having Mr. Gaitskell for the in the Foreign Secwyn Lloyd, came to ad to say was "We fobbed off by this m the pursuit of the e of a comprehensive

reement. to prevent a future create on the soil of tates some form of ervision and control

icems to contain the in that the Govern ant to commit itself dified proposal now accepted it until it is the US Government stand by its own it know already that sent wants to drop

### Johnson's or plan

obvious discomfort caused in political les in the USA by ptance by Russia of for armed forces to assume had been ndorsement, only to an of the US begin is useful to recall ison, of the American, of the American Committee or pison in the committee on the committee on the committee on the catallist artisan commission. partisan commissi nediately a national ocation of American en disarmament be.

ommittee he said. market it is evident in people are t the economic conmament.

that the establish mission to make economic economy as we are in no accept disput and work for it

take responsible marked, "to con-mitted," nations is , who are increase the predominantly our alfrances with ly are prepared for the strial machine for and for any sopples along these copies along the nist charge of our discounting our disarmament

ng case

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## Peace Day

"WE hereby declare December First, 1956, to be Prisoners for Peace Day in honour of all those known and unknown who are in prison as a result of heir refusal to participate in the armed forces of their countries."

With an awareness of the debt owed im-Prisoned war resisters by the world pacifist movement, the War Resisters' International Council, at its recent meeting in London. passed the above proclamation.

December first was selected as an appropulate date for the addressing, signing and posting of Christmas greetings in the concousness that hundreds, perhaps thousands of ike-ininded persons throughout the world were, on this day, expressing their appreciation of these courageous pioneers of our cause.

Prisoners for Peace Day will be an inter-Adio Tatum, newly appointed General ecretary of the WRL

A thousand greetings

earnestly hope that not only each of our Sections, but all organisations dedicated to Peace or civil liberties will undertake special projects to observe the day. We want each imprisoned war resister to receive at least a housand greetings from all over the world

Let us hope there will be poster parades, letters to editors, press releases, demonstra-tions, delegations to Embassies, and official protests to heads of governments as well!

A few English pacifists have already made plans to observe the day by fasting. Since the uniner observe the day by fasting a common unjust Jailing of fellow pacifists is a common concern concern, each organisation and individual should co-operate in some way.

If there is sufficient response to holding the WRI 1960 Triennial Conference in India an idea also endorsed by Council—a special India Fund will be created after the Council's next meeting in December.

But for now, the WRI urges individuals and wide Prisoners for Peace Day, Dec. 1, 1956.

## PACIFISM CONSIDERED

Na recent weekend course on Pacifism at the Christian Adult Education Centre in Moor Park, the Reverend Charles Willis, a Charlein to the Forces, stated the case for the Christian to the Forces, stated the case for the anstian non-pacifist in two lectures.

in the first he claimed that the Bible and showed that God used nations as in-ments of His wrath and judgment on sin. the second fecture he said that war was

how the second tecture he said that the greatest off the worst evil, nor killing the greatest the worst evil, not kning of the might have which could be committed. It might necessary for a nation to go to war to revent, the greater evil of wholesale compution.

Canon Scrutton, in putting the case for the leports and encyclicals issued in connection with four Lambeth Conferences, that in refusloyal to take part in war pacifists were being of to the official statements of the Church ugland and to the Gospels.

One of the discussion groups on the Chris answer to the problem of Cyprus was led Smart Morris, who also intervened effecin the main discussions.

eginald Sorensen spoke on personal paci-Baker on common grounds in working for



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## Prisoners for THE LOST CHANCE OF 1902 A new attitude to Cyprus needed By GORDON WARAKER

" II you would govern a nation do it, as you would cook a small lish, gently."

is the wisdom from Laotze that it seems Britain should learn all over again in her relations with another ancient island. Cyprus.

The regrettable imprudence in our colonial policy of the last decade can rarely have reached a point of such stupidity as is now seen in the administration of the affairs of the

Cypriot and British youths alike, the suffering of all the whole Cypriot population, the whole attitude of those in Britain responsible for the present situation must give all thinking people to their own countries, where it was so much grave concern about the quality of British needed. statesmanship today.

#### responsible

In the case of this beautiful island and its friendly peoples, the tactless incompetence of Britain has gone on for half a century. It responsible for the present crisis, as also for a previous crisis in the 'thirties when the orthodox Archbishop was similarly mis-treated.

The truth is that Britain never had a strategically necessary to her,

But from outside the Colonial Office and Government circles, helpful suggestions have from time to time been made.

Amongst the most important of these alternatives was the guidance of Sir Patrick Geddes, who, as far back as 1902, recommended a wholly different approach to that of successive British Governments.

He pointed out that here is an admixture of types of people, descended from nomad shepherds, fisherfolk from Turkey and the Palestinian shores, emigres from Armenia, Egypt and elsewhere, and a few monks living in quiet solitude in short a pastoral and peasant people.

folk, diplomats, administrators and soldiers for their "government" was the height of folly and futility, "Planting, not politics" is what they needed, he declared.

education; but a very special type of education in accordance with their way of life, beliefs and regional environment,

around.

In addition to this imaginative conception ful to facilitate this. for raising the cultural level of an entire people he declared the exceptionally favourbe carried out in fruit growing and the cultiva- order.

The tragic and unnecessary bloodshed of tion of produce and raw materials, including

To such a college students would come and go carrying their new agricultural knowledge

With such a goal in view Geddes not only advised the Cypriots on afforestation, the cultivation of their olive groves and mulberry trees, incidentally finding that the silk worms also liked the climate, but, with the aid of a generous independent benefactor from home, he founded a first colony as an experiment. winning the hearts and support of some local people to sustain it.

Independent of his general sociological policy worth the name; she never under- findings he pursued his scientific research and, stood the people and was not interested in after a three months' survey of the island's them except in that their island home was terrain, declared that the underflow of waters was of a nature most suited as an experimental centre of hydro-geology and as a place of research and study in this little known field, one of maximum importance to all desert

#### genuine

Geddes considered that at small expense a centre could be established where new and simple methods of "water-mining" could be developed which would save much time and expense in experimentation elsewhere; students would come from Egypt, Arabia, even India and Australia, carrying back their science to their own lands.

Unfortunately none of these proposals ever received official consideration.

If Britain had done something of real vision and practical help for Cyprus and its people she would now have good and loyal friends who would have a much higher regard for her.

Those now responsible, or supposedly so. should therefore learn from the past irresponsibility of their predecessors and their errors of

Britain should at least refrain from provoca cultural centre, which, gathering up their tive acts such as the silly power-polities of past history, traditions, skills and customs, using the Turkish minority as pawns to bolster up their own bankruptcy of policy.

Even a face-saving policy is very difficult though a change of government would be help-

Without a genuine understanding of and concern for the cultural and economic needs able climate and ecology to be such that the of the islanders and a new respect for their island of Cyprus was ideally situated for the civic integrity, and their religious life, no third establishment of an agricultural college, where way out of the present impasse is possible so as to make a beginning to a new and happier

WHEN one conscientions objector went to visit another CO in a French jail, he was received with military honours,

His visit to Rene Tchourbassof in a Tunis son of the first South African born military prison was arranged by a woman Governor-General, addressed a Peace lawyer, Madame Hanon, who was working on Tchourbassof's case.

> not without homour, is it? Pierre passing between the ranks of soldiers presenting arms to salute the delegate of Abbe Pierre.

Abbe Pierre, an ex-soldier and member of the French resistance movement, has done great work among and for the poor and home-less of France.

After the war, he drew to him people who helped to change disused railway conches and empty prisoner-of-war buts into homes for the countless homeless.

This is one of several interesting news reports appearing in the current issue of The

### MICHAEL TIPPETT'S APPEAL

MICHAEL THPETT has sent the following appeal to members of the Peace Pledge Union. We are grateful for this support and for the help which is forthcoming from members and officers of many other organisations. We ask every reader to join in this great effort to keep Peace News solvent in 1956. THE EDITOR,

Dear Fellow-Member,

FUND

I write to you because PEACE NEWS Is now in grave financial danger.

Not solely because it is a paper advocating pacifism in a country pledged to spend astronomical sums on manufacturing and testing H-bombs, but more immediately because this very policy of diverting so much national labour, time and materials to unproductive military

expenditure rather than to desperately needed civil capi-talisation, has been the chief factor in inflation.

Inflation is hitting you as it is hitting me, as it is hitting (and very hard) the devoted people who carry on Peace News in our name.

LATEST E But inflation is hitting our newspaper also, through ever-rising costs, and hitting it so hard that It is now running at a loss of £100 a week,

Of course it wouldn't contrive to appear at all if it were not for the extraordinary financial support it gets already from direct donations and from the profit on Endsleigh Christmas Cards. But it needs much more.

It needs, most of all, more regular orders.

I am asking you, therefore, to order the paper at once for yourself, if you do not already do so,

But I ask also that all of us who are already readers should consider very seriously if we can somehow manage to order one or two extra copies each week from our newsagent, or dis-tributor, or from PEACE NEWS' office. Because, if we all do so, we IMMEDIATELY rescue our paper from financial disaster.

More than that: these extra copies are for selling to our friends, giving away, leaving in trains and buses; they are the good seed that once every so often falls on good ground. Because PN is undoubtedly the most important way in which we not only RECEIVE news of pacifism from all over the world, but in which we GIVE news and arguments for pacifism to the world around us.

PEACE NEWS is becoming more and more a real paper with a real influence. The Eileen Fletcher issues proved that beyond doubt.

So it HAS to be rescued from its involuntary danger; and that is why I write to you,

Perhaps you have not realised how much PEACE NEWS needs active workers, and how these workers are generally PPU members like ourseives. Cannot you become one too? Please read the

suggestions . . . from the last PN Annual Report and consider whether you can act on some of

But supposing you can't really leave extra PN copies in trains, and supposing you can't be active in any of the ways suggested, can you not make some truly generous (generous for YOU, that is) donation that can go towards meeting the deficit already incurred, and to provide a reasonable reserve to lift the constant anxiety from PN Directors and staff t

By sending a generous contribution to the PEACE NEWS' Fund, you will guarantee the future of the only newspaper offering a future to the world.

But please act at once.

And please send a response that will overwhelm PN Directors as Dick Sheppard's first appeal for war resisters overwhelmed his friends. Yours sincerely,

MICHAEL TIPPETT. Chairman.

N.B. Make a point of sending your reply to PEACE NEWS' office, at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Gratefully acknowledged: "Anxious," Mat-don, 10s.; Belfast, £6; PPU member, 2s. 6d.; A Friend, 10s.

Contributions since July 27: £274 0s. 11d. Total since January 1, 1956: £1,500 8s. 6d. Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clere Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, NA.

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## MILITARY HONOURS

ON S. AFRICA From Olwen Battersby PATRICK DUNCAN, the first white

man to take his stand beside the passive resisters in South Africa and the News meeting, in London last month, on South Africa and the Protectorates."

"Things are going on in South Africa more horrible than anything known since the days of Hitler," he stated.

The danger of widespread violence could not be discounted, and violence, if it did come, would mean that the white people, well armed, fully indoctrinated, and with efficient coastal control, would win hands down.

duction of a hydro-electric plant and other constructive projects she could develop the vast potential wealth of the Protectorates— Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechmanaland in

In answer to a question he stated that the African remained in South Africa and suffered persecution and indignity because of the comparatively high standard of living. The African in Basutoland from poor, badly-irrigated land might make £30 a year; his brother in South Africa could earn £150 a

foreign policy under Mr. Strydom has been liberalised, in spite of the tightening of internal

The banishment of Scretze Khama from Bechuanaland had been done for one reuson only: to maintain a good relationship with

might be guided by something other than a desire to keep South Africa within the Commonwealth.

But it is not enough to criticise," he con-ued. "You must put a primus stove under the chair of your Secretary of State, and light SERETSE'S BANISHMENT For Great Britain had power. By the intro-

such a way as to make the white and African peoples of South Africa sit up and take notice.

By insisting that there should be no colour

bar, by giving political rights to the Africans living in these territories, and by granting them a decent wage, Britain could force the South African Government to yield to the pressure of public opinion.

South Africa needed Great Britain more than Great Britain needed South Africa, he affirmed. Hence the fact that South African

Dr. Malao.

If the British Colonial Secretary, however, could be made to feel that he was "between two heats," then British South African policy

To send to these simple peace-loving Eastern

It was not only that they also required

They needed a new type of civic and could eventually become a university, creating new links with Eastern peoples all

every type of research and experiment could

PATRICK DUNCAN

He was Pierre Martin, a pre-war objector, who is a delegate in Tunis of the Abbe Pierre

A correspondent from France writes, "It is

### = BOOKS =

Marcel Oppenheimer reviews

Ludwig van Beethoven, by Ican and Brigitte Massin, Paris, Club du Livre Français,

TYHIS is indeed a "Beethoven" of quite exceptional interest. All those to whom the man and his work mean much be it because he helps them to live, or because his disconcerting stature faces them with fundamental problems in the field of artistic valuation or aestheticswill find here all they can ask for; letters, portraits, dialogues, documents, contradictory opinions most fairly expounded and discussed.

Written in a style at once vivid, vibrating and insentimental, the volume opens with a biography, and, after offering the reader (or record-listener) complete chronological and instrumental catalogues of Beethoven's works, with the history of each, closes with an audacious "essai," characteristically entitled, "Variations on the Historical Theme, Beet-

Purely musicological investigation has been left this time to the specialists, and we are grateful for being spared it.

The biographical section, in its unfailing endeavour to be objective, does justice to Beethoven's nephew Karl, a victim to both his mother and his uncle's pedantic puritanism Schindler, alas!

Beethoven's first biographer, is revealed in his true light: his very portrait witnessing to his cowardly narrowness and vanity.

The destruction of most of Beethoven's conversation notebooks by this mediocre personage is ascribed by L and B. Massin to his fear lest the great musician's politically advanced opinions might tarnish his reputation with posterity. Vincent L.Indy's stupidly antisemitic comments on Moscheles, the friend to whom Beethoven addressed his last letter, are likewise branded with crushing irony.

Beethoven is invested by the Massins with a revolutionary political significance, which it would, indeed, be hard to deny him; and it is partly this emphasis or hias that gives the book such a bracing and sweeping air.

No doubt Jean Massin's great exegetical ability enables him to read his own avowedly Marxist philosophy into the cultural context from which Beethoven suffered and tried to break free; yet it enables him also to throw some unexpected new light on the man.

Whether you agree or disagree matters little, for Beethoven, by virtue of this passionate handling, suddenly emerges as a neighbour whom you cannot ignore, and whose thoughts, moulded into music, anticipated modern humanity's most burning concerns.

### New Commonwealth

A review of

Birth of a World People. Provisional Constitution of the Commonwealth of World Citizens, 60pp., London, Dennis Dobson,

IT is, of course, impossible to review this as a paniphlet. Whether it is a highly important document or merely an interesting curiosity depends entirely upon future events.

In a very interesting introduction which takes half the booklet, Hugh Schonfield explains how there has gradually developed the idea that men and women throughout the world who are prepared to do so should, with-out abandoning their natural citizenship, be able to unite themselves as a people with a common world citizenship.

This world citizenship would, like any other, impose on them certain duties and obligations making them liable to taxation, etc., and, of course, confer electoral and other rights.

This People (neither "nation" nor "state" seem quite appropriate words since it would have no territorial dominion) would establish diplomatic relations with all national governments willing to do so, and, Dr. Schonfield balieves, could act as mediator and agent for peace and co-operation in a way that is constitutionally impossible for other governments.

Acceptance of the idea has been gradually gaining ground, and it is now felt that the time has come for a formal act of establishment. An assembly will meet in Cardiff, Wales, at the end of August to proclaim as in being the new "Commonwealth of World Citizens" and to adopt the provisional constitution set out in this booklet.

By resolution of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, Will Parkin of Bristol will be present at the assembly to convey the Union's good wishes and friendly interest.

#### TT'S 1981 ALREADY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Nearly half of the young white South Africans who stand a one-in-three chance of being conscripted next year have applied for exemption. Conscription is for what is officially termed "Peace Training" in the "Active Citizen Force."

According to a correspondent writing in the Catholic Herald (July 20, 1956), conscientions objectors have their own saints—St. Maximilian, St. Martin of Tours, St. Victricius, and St. John Vianney.

## BEETHOVEN The Nearings view the USA

Tom Wardle reviews

USA Today, by Helen and Scott Nearing Harborside Maine, Social Science Inst. \$2.25

THERE are not a few in and out of the United States who would regard Helen and Scott Nearing as the most un-American of people. Yet, reading this account of their three winter trips through their homeland one gets the feeling that they are in the true American tradition: the tradition of Jefferson, Thoreau, imerson, Twain and Martin Luther King, Jr.—prepared to stick out against the whole might of an empire, or a church, or a creeping moral paralysis.

Helen and Scott Nearing are just about as independent as they come. They have run their own farm, lived off their own home economy, and fashioned their own ideas. They made the trip they report in this book during he period when McCarthyism was rifest, yet they were prepared to say things and do things which might have landed them in trouble a dozen times

The book is not only a report, it is a warn-Scott Nearing is persuaded that the United States is going fascist. He sees this trend as the inevitable consequence of its economic structure a capitalist state being driven by its own internal pressures toward monopolism, an aggressive and self-defeating foreign policy and the ultimate crisis leading to the establishment of the totalitarian state.

The analysis is Marxist in its essentials, and in those essentials is probably right. World War II was merely a let-up for the hard-pressed capitalist economies of the West. The eternal problems of over-production and unemploy-ment are now beginning to re-appear, and by a process which Nearing calls cancerous, fascism spreads through the US.

Strangely enough there is little criticism of the state of affairs in Western Europe (which he Nearings visited in 1953). By contrast with the then prevailing psychological climate in his own country Nearing finds Britain calm, its foreign policy statesmanlike, its spokesmen talking "like leaders."

We divine that this is because of its more pronounced support for co-existence with the soviet Union.

It is here, and in their closing chapter "The Tide is Turning" that the authors reveal an old-fashioned weakness.

They still fabour (or did, since then Khrushchov has made his nauseating dis-closures) under the delusion that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of progress, the home of true socialism, etc.

In their passion for social engineering (horrid phrase!) they fail to recognise that in a socially-engineered society human values go exactly the same way as in a decadent power-crazy state,

All the things the Nearings stand for their sturdy "we can stand on our own two feet" attitude, their cultural breadth, their conscience, their charming personalities -all these have nothing in common with sovietism.

Nearing would be as out of place as Chair-

man of a Socialist Planning Commission as he would be bossing General Motors.

It would be an excellent thing (and is seriously suggested) if these two would take their brave and keen minds on another trip, to the Soviet Union, and produce another report, that would help to complete the picture—"Russia Today."

I am sure they would do it honestly.



Only occasionally will the Hopis consent to be photographed. No effort is made to encourage tourists. A friendly photographer was fortunate in getting these two Hopi women to pause in their work and pose for him.

## What is happening to the American Andians?

By WILFRED WELLOCK

WHO in Britain today ever thinks of the Indian tribes of America? We read about them as boys with intense delight, but what has become of them since? We don't know. We have lost track of them; they are but a memory.

Yet they exist in considerable numbers, in many states, in reservations, and most of them struggling valiantly to maintain their independence and way of life.

The story of that struggle in the state of California is vividly and sympathetically told in a 25 cent paniphlet issued by the American Friends Service Committee: INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA, PAST AND PRESENT.

It is a praiseworthy piece of work. It is a sad and painful story, for these Indian tribes have combatted gold rushes, fortune hunting in the rabid trek West, the religion of Prosperity and the American way

of life. What remains after these onslaughts is a rather pathetic state of affairs, with which a sobered American mind is now trying to

The details of this story are faithfully given, and this pamphlet is a testimony to the American conscience which, after the fury of a century of gate-crashing to prosperity, finally faces the painful truth that grave injustice has been done to their predecessors, the Indian

#### ACCEPTED AS A HOPE

It is now the official policy in California to allow the Indians to work out their own salvation, and to aid them with monies which a measure of compensation for past pillaging.

Reading these pages reminded me of an incident which occurred at the office of the AFSC in Los Angeles in November 1954. It was a chance call on my part.

I was looking around the office when a voice called: "Wilfred Wellock, there is a young man here asking to see you," and in a whisper "he is wearing a strange head dress."
"May he come in here," I asked, and forth-

with I was confronted with a tall, handsone figure a straight with a figure, a straight, clear eye and a friendly factors. "My name is Craig" he said, "we have corresponded."

Then I remembered some rather mysterion letters I had received which described the interesting life. interesting life, and sad plight of the Hopi Indians of Utah, among whom Craig dwell proud of the fact that they had accepted him as one of themselves for as one of themselves, for he greatly esteens their morale, their values and their way of his

#### STAUNOR PACIFISTS

Having thrown in his lot with the Hopis, he was helping them in their struggle for independence and the restoration, in some form of the means to carry on their way of life.

True to the latter, he had journeyed on foot for several days in order to see me. He plate the staff at the tea interval, when I when him how he had come to know of me.

"Through Peace News, which I read the the Hopis, as I do your paniphlets, love Peace News, because they are stands pacifists.

"They refuse military service because say they have tearned how to live in parts among themselves and with their neighbours and they like vous water their neighbours. and they like your writings because emphasise creative living in small communities."

Craig stayed for some days and attended several of my meetings, including my meeting in Los Angeles.

"You are going back to Utah?" [ asked we parted, "Yes, I shall leave tomored and to got away for as we parted," glad to get away from this bedlam of Western civilisation. Living with the Hopis I commuch neares to the his much nearer to the heart of the things had matter nature, God, Truth and goodness

Thus bade I farewell to this cultured apparition from the Hopi tribe of Utah had found among the had found among them a peace and a knowledge which he had failed to find in triumphant

He gave me a further proof that Peach Truth and Life are one;

#### Gandhi turns washerwoman

Last week we read how Gandhi took up life again in South Africa, but this time he had Kasturba, his young wife, and his sons to help him. We learnt of his kindness to a leper and to all sick people.

IN spite of all his professional and political work, Gandhi always found time to take interest in all the little details of home life. In every little domestic trouble he found a practical way out. He disliked a helpless attitude in difficulties and wanted to make himself and his family as self-reliant as possible.

When the washerwoman began to be unpunctual in delivering the clean clothes. Clandhi started to wash the clothes himself.

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

He did not do the work carelessly. He bought a book about washing and studied it. In this way he learnt to wash and iron as well as any washerwoman.

He also showed Kasturba how to do this work. This took up a lot of his time but he found it very interesting, too. Soon, he was proud to go about in his beautifully starched and troned collars, for they were stifler and glossier than those done by the washerwoman.

ONCE when Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the founder of the Servants of India Society, was on a visit to South Africa, ables?

he showed Gandhi a fine scarf that had been given to him by the great Indian politician, Mahadev Govind Ranade.

Gokhale treasured this scarf as if it had been a precious relie, and only wore it on great occasions. He had meant to wear it at the grand dinner which the Indians of Johannesburg were giving in his honour,

Unfortunately at the last moment, the scarf was found to be badly creased. There was no time to send it to the laundry, so Gandhi

Offered to iron it instead.

Cokhale doubted very much if a barrister and politician could also be a good ironer, but Gandhi assured him that he need not worry. The work turned out to be done very well and won Gokhale's praise.

63000

ITAVING made himself into a good laundryman, Gandhi did not see why he should not do without the services of the barber, too. The idea came to him when an English barber in Pretoria refused to cut his hair for him because he was an Indian.

At first Gandhi felt wounded by the man's rudeness. Then he considered the other side of the case, as he always did when hurt by The barber was not to be blamed, he decided.

If he should begin cutting the hair of Indians, all his European customers might stop coming to his shop, and the poor man would be ruined.

Who was to blame then? The European customers? In a way certainly. But they were not the only people guilty of such pride. Did not the ffindus in India refuse to allow their barbers to cut the hair of the poor Untough-

## So all the world over, proud and powerly

people had the same ideas and acted in same cruel and stupid manner. The thing to be attacked, therefore, his neither European nor Indian. It was sinful, foolish pride, which can be found every corner of the world.

Thoughts like these prevented Gandhi from getting sad or angry with the barber, instead he bought a pair of hair-clippers and clipped his hair himself

his hair himself. NEXT WELK: The Boer War.

RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER This piedge, signed by each member, is the basis, of the Peace Piedge Union. Send YOUR piedge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.

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sollers London N.A.

### GERMAN LAW CHALLENGED

DR MARTIN LOFFLER, a Stuttgart lawyer, has lodged a complaint that the new German conscription law is contrary to the meanible of the basic law—the constitution of the East of the basic law—the constitution of the East of the basic law—the constitution of the East of the law of the l the Federal Republic and to five of its

The complaint has been lodged on behalf six clients of conscription age to the federal Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe.

The conscription law, it is alleged, could bing the danger of civil war against the inhabitants of East Germany, and so contradict the first article of the constitution defining the inviolable dignity of man.

the constitution laid down that "no one may be compelled against his conscience to serve in war as a combatant." The complainand declare that by the conscription law this is hansgressed, as it limits the right of con-tientions objection to what they call "a group of radion! of tadical, convinced pacifists.

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Auth Neuendorffer
34 Harwood Ave,
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New York, U.S.A.

Cyprus

BEING in Athens for some time, I only now have come across your report (Peace News, June 29) of the speech I made at Loughborough some time ago.

You write that during that speech I deprecated violence and that I condemned the use of violence as well as those who provoked the use of violence, namely, in the case of Cyprus, the British Government.

What in fact I said was that "I regret that the Cypriots were forced to resort to violence but if we have to condemn somebody we must condemn those who provoked, with their behaviour and policy, the use of violence.

When I was asked at that meeting what I thought of the so-called "terrorists" when they kill I replied: "Sir Winston Churchill in the first volume of his book The History OF THE BRITISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES says that "it is the primary right of men to die and kill for the land they live in and to punish with exceptional severity those . . . compatriots who have warmed their hands at the invader's hearth.

I thought I need add no more.

SPYROS A. KYPRIANOU, U.K. Hon. Secretary to the Ethnarchy of Cyprus.

London, W.1. Challenge to pacifists

I HAVE read with much interest the letters in "Peace News" on the subject: "Challenge to Pacifists", and notice that the writers have in common the opinion that we, as pacifists, must show the public in a practical way that non-violence really works. Whilst I appreciate the desirability of proving that this is so, I do not consider that it should be necessary to convince practising Christians of the workability of non-violence, so that they join our ranks. Surely the teachings of Our Lord should be sufficient to bring them to pacifism,

regardless of the consequences? more on putting Christ's teachings before these people in our endeavour to bring them to pacifism, and then, as quite a secondary aim: show the effectiveness of non-violence,

REGINALD C. STATT.

"Eight Points", Langley Avenue, St. Saviour, Jersey, Channel Islands.

#### Pacifism and the police

VOICE

Police, July 13) weak and unconvincing. It is time that pacifists realised that those of their opponents who raise the objection concerning pacifists who support a police force have "got something."

"It is never the business of the policeman to punish." The policeman does not directly

punish a criminal, but he is part of the punitive machinery of law, nevertheless,

The law, in turn, is a part of that complex of coercive institutions which constitute the State and should the civil forces at the disposal of the law fail, then the military forces are used. Violence is still the final sanction of the State.

How can one "distinguish clearly between military action and police action."? Should pacifists support the police when they club hunger-marchers, arrest "deserters," round up people for internment, serve warrants on conscientious objectors?

Is it within the scope of the non-violent approach to support the "police action" that was carried out in Palestine, and is carried out in Cyprus and in Russia? What is the fundamental difference between being hit over the head with a truncheon and being hit with the butt-end of a rifle?

Miss Morrison argues that the policeman has "the community . . . on his side," This has nothing to do with whether or not a pacifist can support a police force. The "community supports many things which a pacifist cannot.

If one's pacifism is confined to the rejection of war as "an instrument of national policy then presumably it does not involve rejecting the use of a police force.

If one's pacifism means the acceptance of the principle of non-violence, as mine does, then I do not see how one can accept the validity of an institution such as the police which uses violence—however much that violence may be restricted to certain individuals or supported by the "community."

The confused thinking that Miss Morrison The confused thinking that Miss Morrison displays on this subject is aptly illustrated by her statement that police action is "restraint that their efforts will be valueless. her statement that police action is "restraint upon the guilty after guilt has been established." She seems to be engaged in an act of pre-judgment here. Is one to understand that should be sufficient to bring them to pacifism, she rejects that proudly boasted axiom of the gardless of the consequences?

We should, therefore, I believe, concentrate or partition Christ's toaching lafery that "a man is innocent until proved guilty?"

This would seem to follow from her argument that if the police restrain a man he is therefore "guilty."

S. E. PARKER.

12 Park Drive, London, N.W.11.

SYMU MORRISON Writes: In his desire to make clear his own objection to State and Law, Mr. S. E. Parker seems to have entirely I FIND Sybil Morrison (Pacifism and the overlooked what my article was about) I was pointing out to those who insist on equating the police force with so-called "defence" in war, that it cannot be so equated. I think my argument on that score is perfectly logical.

It does not necessarily mean that I support

police force, though I am not, as Parker appears to be, a convinced anarchist, He is himself arguing in exactly the same way as non-pacifists when he refers to the "police action" in Russia, Palestine and Cyprus. That is what those who justify war like to call it, but it is in fact military action, which attacks the innocent and guilty alike and

force as the final arbiter.

By "restraint upon the guilty after guilt has been established" I naturally meant the subsequent probation or imprisonment following upon conviction of guilt before a court of

#### How Britain could disarm

AM sorry that James Read considers that the attention which a number of pacifists are giving to unilateral disarmament is the

dreaming of a frustrated minority group."
The list of names of the Working Party published in Peace News would indicate that they are not mystics or dreamers but a cross section of pacifists who have their feet firmly on the ground.

Vital indeed as one may consider James Read's plea that "moral power lies in the depth of the change of heart of individuals," that need not exclude a practical pacifist con-

tribution to modern thought on modern problems.

It isn't "playing at Prime Ministers" to express an opinion that the only way in which this country can make a serious effort to deal with the crying needs of the under-developed countries is via a drastic reduction in aims expenditure—which is undateral disarmament.

Surely it is the pacifist ideal to swords into ploughshares" and I should not have thought it was making the movement "a laughing stock" to ask whether that was moonshine or whether it was possible in the contemporary world.

People in this God's world of ours are beginning to realise that massive armaments are not producing results and they are looking for alternatives.

As James Read points out, a Tory Government will probably end conscription (which would be unilateral disarmament) because we cannot afford it, long before pacifists can achieve the change of heart which is so desirable. Mr. Macmillan is obviously casting longing eyes on saving £700 million of the money we are spending on armaments, in order to save the world's economy. That also would involve unilateral disarmament.

The Working Party is having the valuable help of non-pacifist MPs in thinking about the consequences of unilateral disarmament. These men do not give their time to dreamers.

Non-pacifists are coming to see that one only becomes a "laughing-stock" when one continues to spend the national resources on armaments which in the contemporary situation have become obsolete and useless junk.

WALLACE HANCOCK, 8 Barelay Oval, Woodford Wells.

#### The cost in lives

WHAT were the total casualties in the last World War, both combatant and civilian? LAURIE SUTTON.

112 Repton Rd., Orpington, Kent.

The following statistics of deaths in the principal countries in World War II are given in the Official Bulletin of the German Federal Government, published at Bonn: USSR, 13,600,000 soldiers and a

number of civilians; CHINA, 2,000,000 soldiers, 6,000,000 civilians; POLAND, 6,000,000 (of whom 300,000 were killed in civilians; FRANCE, 200,000 soldiers, 600,000 civilians; FRANCE, 200,000 soldiers, 400,000 civilians; GREECE, 150,000 soldiers, 350,000 civilians; BRITISH EMPIRE, 400,000 soldiers, 100,000 civilians; USA, 290,000 soldiers.

Total killed (leaving out of account deaths indicated, such as Soviet civilians, but not given in figures): 39,840,000.

Guy Enock, in his book "This War Rusiness" (The Bodley Head), gives figures for Germany: military, 3,000,000; civilian,

#### Briefly

CASTON COULY, a French conscientions objector, was sentenced, on May 3, to three years imprisonment. By September, 1957 he will have completed seven years imprisonment for being a conscientious objector to military service.

Last March, Gilbert Burbier, a French con-

scientious objector was sentenced to two years imprisonment for refusing military service. He had previously served a three year sentence.

John Ferguson, M.A., B.D., of the Fellowship of Reconciliation leaves on August 23 to take up duties as Professor of Classics at Ibadan University, Nigeria.

A nuclear reactor designed specifically for medical research and therapy, estimated at 6,000,000 dollars will be housed at Brookhaven National Laboratory, New York **ADVERTISEMENTS** 

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LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mig.
to., Bush Rd. Howard Hutchins, "Rambles."

Thursday, August 30 LEVTONSTONE v. B. p.m.; Friends Mig Ho., Bush Rd. Group discussion, PPU. Suturday, September 1 RUGBY 1 Pacifist Demonstration.

Saturday, September 15 LONDON, N.W.II: London Area Garden Party, King Affred School, North End Rd. Peace Pledge Union.

Simday, September 16

BELLINGHAM: 8 p.m.; St. Dunstans Hall
Brains Trus on Peace and War. Rev Anthony Balley, MA (A.P.F.), Ronald Mai-lone, BA (Fellowship Patty) and others lone, BA (Fellowship Patty) and others, Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.C.2 (2.30 p.m.; Westminster Friends Mig. Ho., 52 St. Martin's Lanc, Charing Cross Rd., Conf. for prospective conscientious objecturs. Speaker, discussion, tea. Society of Friends.

Saturday, October 6
CROYDON 1 46 p.m.; Adult School Hall,
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Confuror; Staffs and evening entertainment.
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LONDON, W.J. La 6-9 p.m., Friends Taternational Centre, 32 Tayistock Sq., Meeting of Area and Group representatives PU. Similary, October 28
LONDON, W.C.L. 10 a.m.-12,30 p.m.;
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pacifist principles were applied today to other parts of Africa, no one would have to ask, when the storm breaks, what the pacifist would do it he were in power.

WITH regard to the present crisis, let us begin by listing some of the things which the pacifist would not have done.

He would not have spoken in abusive and threatening terms of an action which the slightest study of the facts shows to have been entirely legal in spite of its provocative abruptness.

He would not have blocked Egyptian funds or taken any other measures of such doubtful legality that they are reasonably certain to be condemned by the International Court at The Hague if they are submitted to it and have not even secured the adhesion of the United States.

He would, of course, not have mobilised troops.

Nor would be have been so silly as to declare that neither France nor Britain will ever consent to single power control over the Sucz Canal, since such a declaration implies that neither of them can have meant to respect the provisions of the original concession, under which single power control was to come to Egypt, anyway, by 1968.

On the positive side, he would have informed President Nasser in studiously polite language that the abrupt nationalisation of the Canal had created a serious situation calling for careful thought and study; and

#### FROM NO WAR OVER SUEZ PAGE ONE

French and US Governments to seek agreement regarding the future of the Sucz Canal without delay by calling a conference of the states concerned with the use of the Canal, including the Soviet Union and Egypt.

The statement continues:

While recognising that in view of the urgency of the situation and the need to secure the full representation of those chiefly concorned, it was probably necessary for the conference to be summoned on the initiative of the British, French and US Governments, the National Peace Council urges that the United Nations be kept fully informed, every effort be made to bring the decisions of the conference under the authority of the United Nations, and that no military action should be taken outside that authority.

The National Peace Conneil, holding that it is essential that the Canal should be operated under some form of international agreement, believes that this issue should not be confused with the question of legal ownership."

#### PATRICK DUNCAN'S COMMENTS

A statement issued by the British Peace Committee, the British organisation of the Communist-backed World Peace Council declares that force or the threat of force to achieve national ends or to solve international problems cannot be justified.

"Under the United Nations Charter all countries are pledged to refrain in their international relations.

national relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.'

"Warlike speeches in Parliament and the action of the British Government in recalling reservists, transferring bomber squadrons and military and naval units to the Mediterranean area are at complete variance with our obliga-tions under the United Nations Charter and can only weaken our moral standing in the eyes of the whole world . .

In a letter to The Times on August 6, Mr. Patrick Duncan, a South African contributor to Peace News, warns that a war with Egypt would become the focus for all the aspirations of the new nations of the world now straining to establish their status."

He believed that Britain "would find no support anywhere save in France and perhaps in the United States. I believe that this country would, if it took up arms, fail to impose its will in Suez on Egyptian-directed Arabism. I believe that it would be a war as unpopular internationally as the Boer War, and as un-successful as the Crimean.

Nasser has broken no law and abrogated no treaty. He already enjoys outspoken support in many countries. If a Suez 'Imperialism' grapples with 'Anti-colonialism' I have little doubt that Imperialism' will be

#### WAR OVER SUEZ!

Protest meeting Caxton Hall, S.W.1, Tuss., Aug. 14, 7,30, p.m. FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Adm. Is. Movement for Colonial Fraudom

#### Background to the Suez crisis

by HUGH SCHONFIELD

THE SUEZ CANAL IN WORLD AFFAIRS 15%. (postage 8d)

EGYPT: CROSS ROAD ON A WORLD HIGHWAY.

A Peace News Pamphlet 6d. (post free) HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4

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that, until there had been an opportunity for full consideration and a series of mutual consultation meetings-however long they might take—all shipowners susceptible of accepting British or French advice would be urgently requested not to use the Canal.

During the first few days the effect would have been slight, because it is not always easy to divert ships. Nor would a complete boycott of the Sucz waterway have resulted even after a while, or have been intended. But with tankers from the Middle East, going to various destinations in Western Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States, constituting 65 per cent of the total tonnage passing through the Canal (1955 figures), and Britain also the most extensive user of the Suez for other vessels, the new Nasser-created Canal Authority would not have been long in wanting to negotiate for the resumption of normal

And this customers' abstention would have been morally justified and unassailably legal.

In the absence of long-term contracts, of which there are none in this case, there is no obligation on any customer to continue doing business with a concern which has suddenly come under new ownership.

The longer route round the Cape would admittedly be more expensive, but it is doubtful whether the expense involved would equal that of military measures already

Next, the pacifist would have dissociated himself emphatically from the statement, in Paris on August 3, by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that the future Canal profits must go to the users, in the form of reduced passage dues

It runs counter to his sense of justice that so poor a country in natural resources as Egypt should not be allowed to divert to the inprovement of her soil at least the same amount of the annual profits as the shareholders have taken in the past without the least worrying about possible reductions in the passage dues.

On the point that a conference has now been called, the pacifist comes near to the official policy adopted. But he would not have started by a preliminary one between the three Powers looked upon by Egypt with least favour,

Nor would be have announced that he expected this general conference to solve its fiercely contentious problems in a week,

And, to make it easier for Egypt to accept without feeling like an accused summoned to appear before a court, the pacifist would use every endeavour to induce Pandit Nehru or, failing him, some other prominent neutral, to become the convener of the conference—which should, moreover, be held in a neutral country, for preference at Geneva. Also, the conference should not set its face against the inclusion in the discussions of other internationally used canals, though keeping the Suez first on the list because it is only there that an acute issue has arisen.

HERE, however, I must interject a purely personal observation.

The question of international control over such waterways seems to me to be treated with far too much importance.

Egypt's barring of Israeli shipping is the only outstanding example of arbitrary action attributable to the absence of international control in times of peace, or at least un-declared war. If it amounted to more than pin-pricks, and had not been tacitly agreed to by more powerful countries, it would have

And in times of war, as long as armed forces exist on the sea as well as on land, the freedom of any waterway will be real only for the nation of group of nations that possesses ufficient superiority in naval and air nower to make it unwise for the other side to approach it. (As this is written, the latest reports from Cairo announce that Egypt is now permiting non-military cargoes bound for Israel to go through the Canal, to prove that the waterway is being kept entirely free).

Nor can I think that the United States will accept international control over the Panama Canal or think them wrong for that refusal, particularly when it is remembered that a belt of land ten miles in width on either side of the canal has become USA property by pur-

VIVIE crisis will last until long after this article has gone to press. But the United Kingdom has already lost the support of Iraq, its staunchest ally hitherto in the Middle East

And Britain and France themselves are unwittingly driving a wedge into the Western front by exaggerating the importance of the Canal nationalisation in the hope of inflicting a resounding defeat on President Nasser for deeper-lying reasons.

The British Government wants his standing in the Arab world diminished before he can become a disruptor of British influence the oil-rich Middle East; the French Government sees in the whole incident an opportunity to increase Western sympathy her Algerian policy, in which Egypt stands as the focal point of external resistance; and the Americans want, above all, not to be drawn into adventurous action with a taint of colonialism in its content, particularly in a presidential election year. One last thought: Is it not the height of frony that John Foster Dulles, looked upon for years as the chief practitioner of dangerous

policies, should have become at least for the

time being the main exponent of moderation?

## Echoes of Imperialism

Apart from the dogmatic pacifists . . . there are a number (in the Labour Party) whose attitude is that, whatever our Canal policy, on no account should force be used to apply it. . . The rider "unless such action is authorised by the United Nations" is company. because any decision by the Security Council is subject to Russia's veto. is empty... because any decision by the Security Council is subject to Russia. The object of the Conference on August 16 is to secure that the policy to be promoted is one . . . agreed by the greatest number; but its purpose will fail unless we, who are most concerned, are prepared to push its conclusion through by whatever forms of strength may be necessary.

The Sunday Times, August 5, 1956.

THE fateful months of August and September, those two months when Members of Parliament have departed for their long summer recess, and large numbers of British citizens are taking their summer holiday, seem to be once again living up to their tradition of tension and threats of war.

This August of 1956, forty-two years since that fatal August of 1914, has treated us to unusually wild weather, and as though to keep in the same fashion, the lowering international skies shadow the world with the menace of war.

As the aircraft carriers, laden with paratroops, leave Portsmouth, as the recall papers to Reservists go out, as the ARP notices go up in the streets of Cairo, those who were so certain that the H-bomb would deter must now be a little less sure.

There is no certainty, there can be no certainty, so long as aggressive nationalism is met by aggressive nationalism.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the rights and wrongs of the present situation in regard to the Canal, since it is plain, and will be discussed elsewhere, that there are quite a few wrongs on both sides and perhaps not many "rights"!

#### TOM MBOYA TO TOUR USA

THE most outstanding African leader to emerge in East Africa since Jomo Kenyatta went to jail-26-year-old Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour is to visit the United States from August to October.

This announcement has just been made in New York by the American Committee on Africa, which is sponsoring his visit.

Son of a sisal plantation worker, and a member of the Luo tribe, Mr. Mboya has risen dramatically to prominence at a time when his country was torn by the stresses of Mau Mau uprising.

At a time when thousands of Africansmany of them trade unionists-were being arrested and imprisoned by the British, often merely for being under suspicion of not having the same ideas as the white settlers, Mr. Mboya succeeded in organising government workers into unions.

Still in his early twenties, he successfully negotiated the settlement of a strike which had tied up the port of Mombasa for three days, gaining substantial benefits for the strikers in the process.

Today he is General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor, which is affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The American Committee on Africa, which is sponsoring Tom Mboya's six-week visit to America, was founded in 1954 and is located at 28 East 35th St., New York 16.

Colleges and organisations wishing to hear Mr. Mboya should make inquiries promptly. George Houser, the Secretary of the Ameri can Committee on Africa, formerly worked with the US Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality.

#### HIROSHIMA PARADE IN SOUTHEND

COMMEMORATING the Hiroshima anniversary, the Southend and District Peace Council will be holding a poster parade in Southend on August 11.
A section of the London Pipe Band will lead

Commencing from All Saints Church, South church Road, at 3.30 p.m., the parade will march to the sea front via the High Street. where a meeting will be addressed by Sybil Morrison and the Rev. Dr. Bryn Thomas.

Southend Peace Council are being joined by contingents from Ilford, Woodford and Walthamstow.

#### Italian CO's third sentence INNIO ALFARANO, a Jehovah's Witness, who had served two previous terms of imprisonment for his conscientious objection o military service, was sentenced by the Turin Military Court on May 9, to a further 10 months imprisonment.

On arriving at the Recruit Training Centre last April, Alfarano refused to put on a uniform. This disobedience led to his appearance in Court. He was described by his Company Commandant as "a boy of good disposition, educated and civilly respectful."

What is equally plain is the fact that British people can still, in spite of their dread of war, be stirred by the "battle cry." Suddenly the Prime Minister takes on the stature of a Churchill Chirchell Suddenly whose Churchill: Gaitskell becomes the leader whose speech will undoubtedly ensure him a place in any War Cabinet, and Herbert Morrison, once a conscientious objector to war, deciares that if a Tory Government reaches the conclusion

that force is necessary he will support them.

As the echo of the cheers that greeted his speech from both sides of the House dist away, was there, perhaps, a faint and far and echo of other speeches rolling from his against British Imperialism?

There is a strange and ghost-like resembland to those Imperialistic days when Britain sent gun-boat to frighten any recalcitrant people and decided the differences in any dispute by show of military power.

Whatever happens in this dispute, or all other, in the end the disputants must come leading the control of gether to negotiate, and yet the country cheen because Britain has continued in its outwork bitterly mistaken tradition of "ratiling the

The much scorned "dogmatic pacifist" merely saying what everyone, in fact, knows of be true, that a display of force does not necessarily secure justice, and does not, includy, secure the desired end.

It is a piece of rather unscrupulous prop ganda to refer to the Russian veto on Security Council as though it were something Council fails to agree, it could just as easily is called a USA or British veto, and probably is so called by Russia. It was agreed, and rightly agreed,

decisions of the Security Council must unanimous, and must not be carried out by majority against a minority. Plainly this is most proper and essential rule in a Could that has the request that has the power to make war, and one that had it been followed would perhaps have prevented the useless slaughter of the Korean war.

The United Nations like the Korean war.

The United Nations, like the League this Nations, has failed to keep the peace in instance, as in additional to the control of the Nations of Nations, has failed to keep the peace in instance, as in others, because of its reliance upon the ultimate use of the method of war.

It is to be hoped that all the disputants the disputants in the disputants.

come to the Conference on August 16, concessions will be made, and common sense prevail.

#### MIXED MARRIAGE BAR IN RHODESIA . . .

Blantyre, Nyasaland From BASIL DELAINE

A EUROPEAN man and an Northern woman in Lusaka (capital of Northern Rhodesia) who have been trying to married, have been told that the law does not allow them.

allow them to do so.

They have been refused marriage by the Anglican Church, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Clerk of the Court of Boma (similar to a Town Half) to a Town Half).

Even if the couple found a Church minis

who would perform the ceremony, their and children of the union would a Church misming would not be recognised as legal and and children of the union would be supply children of the union would thus be illegib mate.

According to the Central African Post, processing to the Central African Post, process Rhodesia to get married. The newspaper said that there was

precedent for a marriage between a European and an African in Northern Rhodesia. The few "marriages" which have place—mainly between early European schiller most of whom were civil servants—were under tribal law. Even under tribal law, the children of

marriages are still regarded as illegitimate.
FOOINOTE: The Marriage Ordinate Northern Rhodgic was dested nearly Northern Rhodesia was drafted nearly years ago in South Africa and does not pure marriage between Europeans and Africans

The Anglican Church will not refuse solemnize a marriage on the grounds of red difference, a spokesman for the Commissary the Bishop of Nyasaland told Peace News London on Tuesday.

#### ... AND IN KENYA

AN Englishman who wanted to marry to Kikuyu girl in Kenya has been forbidden to remain in Kenya, and may never see her again. again. Mr. G. Dixon of Whitley Bay, Northund

land, was ordered to leave Kenya immediately immigration, afford to leave Kenya immediately by immigration officials, who refused to gro reasons for the order.

Mr. Dixon met his fiancee, Margaret Mundi 20, during his Police service in Kenya's Central Province



AUTOMATION Blessing or Curse?

Pamphlet by Frank Allaun, MP and Bob Edwards, MP

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